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4. Weapons scrapped: The United States has abandoned and declassified many important new weapons systems after spending millions for their development, such as (a) the Skybolt missile (which gives a plane the capability of hitting enemy targets without flying over enemy soil), (b) the Pluto missile (low altitude nuclear warhead guided missile capable of going around the world), (c) the Nike-Zeus antimissile missile, and (d) mobile Minuteman long-range missiles mounted on moving trains and surface ships so our deterrent force could not be wiped out by a surprise attack.

5. Research stopped: The United States has stopped research on many weapons of the future, such as the atomic-powered airplane. It takes 5 years or more to bring a new weapon from the drawing board to the production line. This means that the United States will fall farther behind the Soviet Union every year because the Soviets are racing ahead in superbombs, antimissile missile, atomic airplanes, and chemical warfare weapons.²⁸ We are doing nothing to develop the neutron bomb, requested by Catholic Senator THOMAS DONN and many other patriots, or offensive and defensive chemical warfare weapons, or adequate civil defense. Another neglected new weapon is the space ship equipped with superbombs which would maintain a position over enemy targets just as the Early Bird satellite maintains its position over the mid-Atlantic.

All this unilateral disarmament is not directly attributable to misuse of "Pacem in Terris." But the misuse of "Pacem in Terris" is a major factor in creating the climate which calls for the unilateral dismantling of U.S. strength, and persuades the American people to accept status as a second-rate power, no longer able to defend the free world.²⁹

The great St. Thomas Aquinas stated: "And as the care of the common weal is committed to those who are in authority, it is their business to watch over the common weal of the city, kingdom, or province subject to them. And just as it is lawful for them to have recourse to the sword in defending that common weal against internal disturbances, when they punish evildoers, according to the words of the Apostle (Rom. viii 4): 'He beareth not the sword in vain: for he is God's minister, an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil'; so too it is their business to have recourse to the sword of war in defending the common weal against external enemies."³¹

THE TASK AHEAD

Most Catholics are cognizant of the evil of Communism. What they do not realize is the imminent danger of Communism³² and that this threat arises chiefly because of our failure to understand and refute the diabolical Communist propaganda. There is urgent need for affirmative action to—

1. Expose the misuse of "Pacem in Terris" and refute the Communist propaganda that calls for the unilateral dismantling of U.S. military strength, and the surrender of Vietnam and other free-world outposts to the Communists; and

2. Encourage every Catholic diocese, parish, and family to study how to combat the diabolical propaganda of atheistic Communism which threatens the destruction of the free world.

The Communists have an educational plan to subvert the free world; 109,000-word-warriors have graduated from the Castro College of Communist Subversion in Cuba³³ and are organizing Red revolutions throughout Latin America. Thousands more graduate each year from the Soviet, Prague, and Chinese word-warfare schools.

Catholics must start an educational program on the techniques of communism. Jesus promised that "the truth shall make you free." Cuba fell because the Catholics, who comprised more than 90 percent of the population, were not told the truth about the diabolical propaganda on behalf of Fidel and Raul Castro and Che Guevara. Because of the diabolical propaganda against anti-Communists in southeast Asia, Laos was lost (despite the heroic labors of Catholic Dr. Thomas Dooley), and Catholic President Diem of Vietnam was murdered. John F. Kennedy, the first Catholic President of the United States, was murdered by a Communist who was recruited into the conspiracy by the diabolical propaganda. The fate of the Catholic Church and of the free world depends on exposing and refuting the diabolical propaganda of communism before it is too late.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION BY COMMUNISTS

(Mr. ASHBROOK (at the request of Mr. HUTCHINSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, July 12, the House joined with the Senate in passing a concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries should be urged to permit the free exercise of religion. I supported this resolution although I felt it to be rather weakly worded. The record is so full of the persecution of religious groups and individuals by the Soviet Union that our action should have been much sooner in coming and more forceful. It is unfortunate that we are so apathetic to the fate of our brothers behind the Iron Curtain. I sometimes wonder if our religious denominations in this Nation recognize our responsibility to those behind the Iron Curtain who are denied freedom of religion.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs held hearings on May 10, 11, and 12 and issued a report on "Antireligious Activities in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe." The Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary has four excellent reports on discrimination and religious persecution by Communist regimes. All of these reports indicate that churches in the Soviet Union have been systematically annihilated with the exception of the Russian Orthodox Church which reached

a truce with the Soviet Government during World War II. Showcase churches are allowed in Moscow which visitors are urged to see. These publications give a detailed account of antireligious activities in the Soviet Union. These volumes are entitled "Church and State Under Communism" and I certainly recommend them to anyone who wants to learn more about the fate of our fellow man under the yoke of communism.

Volume III deals with Yugoslavia and is particularly interesting because it is fashionable these days to allege that Tito has a different brand of communism in that country. Quite the opposite; religious persecution has been as brutal in Yugoslavia as in the U.S.S.R. In his foreword, Senator DONN outlines the pattern of oppression and brutality which has been directed at religious activities behind the Iron Curtain.

He notes that the various churches in Yugoslavia "are governed by commissions for religious affairs, headed up by members of the Communist Party who have received special ideological training for combating religion." He observes that—

Those clergymen, both Orthodox and Catholic, who resisted or denounced the encroachments of the state, were imprisoned or executed.

The foreword indicates that within a year after communism took over in Yugoslavia, the Catholic Church, which had a total of 2,700 Croat priests, lost 400 priests by execution, 200 who fled abroad and several hundred imprisoned.

Three Roman Catholic cardinals have felt the reprisal which communism directs at religious groups who operate independently of state dictation. Cardinal Mindszenty is still in the safe sanctuary of the American Embassy in Budapest where he has been since the Hungarian uprising in 1956, a fugitive in his own land because he will not bow to the will of the Communist masters. The late Cardinal Stepinac felt the oppression of the Yugoslav dictator, Tito, as did Cardinal Wyszynski in Communist Poland.

It is a necessary tenet of any religious faith, particularly the Christian, to believe that the heart can be moved and human nature can change. This can and should be hoped for, prayed for by those of us who wish freedom to flourish again in Eastern Europe and for possibly a first time in Russia. By the same token, there is no virtue in color blindness or refusal to take into true account what is happening behind the Iron Curtain. Many so-called liberal theologians seem to see some Christian witness in seeking accommodation with a regime built on terror and suppression. I disagree with them most vehemently and will not agree to sell any of my brothers into slavery and depravity.

A great philosopher once stated that the beginning of wisdom is in calling things by their right name. Communism is a totalitarian doctrine built on terror and control of all matters, public, social, religious, private. The Congress has served a great purpose in exposing this shallow doctrine and documenting

²⁸ U.S. News & World Report, Mar. 1, 1965, p. 39.

²⁹ See Soviet Army magazine Red Star, January 1965 and speech by Soviet Marshal Sokolovsky, Feb. 17, 1965.

³⁰ "Pacem in Terris Convocation" by Arnold Johnson, Political Affairs, May 1965, pp. 47-54.

³¹ Summa Theologica, Vol. 2, p. 1359.

³² See the masterful and unrefuted exposition of the military danger to the United States and the free world from Soviet strategy: "The New Myths and Old Realities of Nuclear War" by Rear Adm. Chester Ward, U.S.N. (Ret.) in Orbis, summer 1964, vol. VIII, No. 2, published by the Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania. Also see various Washington Reports of the American Security Council, 123 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago 6, Ill.

³³ Christian Economics, May 4, 1965, p. 2.

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their bloody record of persecution of religious activities behind the Iron Curtain. It is now for the public, particularly the clergy, to acquaint themselves with the details of this godless crusade by the men of the Kremlin and their satellites so they will know them by their right name.

The concurrent resolution which passed last week is as follows:

Whereas the Congress of the United States deeply believes in freedom of religion for all people and is opposed to infringement of this freedom anywhere in the world; and

Whereas the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations declares that everyone has the right to freedom of thought and religion and the right to manifest his religion or belief in public or in private through teaching, practice, worship, and observance; and

Whereas articles 124 and 125 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union, and the existing constitutions of other Eastern European countries, guarantee their citizens freedom of conscience and religious worship; and

Whereas abundant evidence has made clear that the Government of the Soviet Union and the governments of other countries of Eastern Europe are persecuting, in varying degrees of intensity, elements of their Christian, Jewish, and Muslim citizens and infringing upon their freedom of religion through confiscatory taxation and closing of religious institutions, deliberate suppression of religious education, interference with religious and related cultural practices, denial of regular contacts between religious bodies in their countries with similar bodies in other parts of the world, and through persistent discrimination against persons professing and practicing their religions by state, party, Communist youth, police, labor, and public organizations; and

Whereas there is also abundant evidence that Jewish citizens of the Soviet Union are being singled out for extreme punishment for alleged economic offenses and oppressed in the free exercise of their faith through the closing of synagogues and cemeteries, curtailment of religious observances, discrimination in cultural activities and access to higher education, imposition of restrictions that prevent the reuniting of Jews with their families in other lands, and the arrest of rabbis and lay religious leaders; and

Whereas the Government of the Soviet Union and the governments of other Eastern European countries have a clear opportunity to match the words of their constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion with specific and appropriate actions: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the persecution of any persons because of their religion by the Government of the Soviet Union and the governments of other Eastern European countries be condemned, and that such governments be urged to cease such persecution and to permit full and free exercise of religion and related cultural pursuits by all persons within their countries.

SEC. 2. It is further the sense of the Congress that the attention of the United Nations should be drawn to this resolution and that the United Nations should continue in its efforts on behalf of freedom of religion.

(Mr. MOORE (at the request of Mr. HUTCHINSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. MOORE'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

ADLAI STEVENSON

(Mr. RUMSFELD (at the request of Mr. HUTCHINSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I speak today as a Member of Congress, as an Illinoisan, and as an American, and join my colleagues and the world in paying tribute to Adlai Ewing Stevenson—lawyer, politician, statesman. A man the President described as "America's most eloquent spirit, its finest voice"; a man praised by the Governor of Illinois as "a public servant of the highest order"; a man termed "irreplaceable—one of our great contemporary men" by Senator Minority Leader DIRKSEN. And so the tributes continue, recalling one after another the many memorable qualities of this unusual man, his sparkling wit, his basic human decency, his dedicated leadership, his strong sense of duty.

Adlai Stevenson was a distinguished Princeton alumnus. The Princeton University class of 1954, of which I was a member, was privileged to have Mr. Stevenson as our senior banquet speaker, more than 11 years ago. I have to this day kept copies of that speech—one of the most stirring, one of the most idealistic, and, yet, one of the most realistic speeches it has ever been my privilege to hear. Over the years, I have found myself rereading his remarks, calling it to the attention of others, and quoting portions of it in public addresses. Without question this speech did much to increase my interest in public service and to lead me to a career in government. That evening in 1954 he gave a glimpse of the man as he said:

If those * * * Americans who have the advantage of education, perspective, and self-discipline do not participate to the fullest extent of their ability, America will stumble, and if America stumbles, the world falls.

He gave advice which, I am convinced, was not merely the product of a brilliant mind, but the practical expression of a personal philosophy:

Face the problems of your time you must, deal with them you must. But do not allow the alarms and excursions and partisanship of our political scene to distract you, do not let even the awful problems of the atomic age claim all your attention. Dare, rather, to live your lives fully, boldly; dare to study and to learn, to cultivate the mind and the spirit.

He cast a bright light on politics as a profession and did much to change the impression of the politician from a sinister figure in the smoke-filled room to a man of dedication and eloquence in public life. He put in proper focus the significance of the political process under our system of government, saying:

The power, for good or evil, of this American political organization, is virtually beyond measurement. The decisions which it makes, the uses to which it devotes its immense resources, the leadership which it provides on moral as well as material questions, all appear likely to determine the fate of the modern world.

All this is to say that your power is virtually beyond measurement. For it is to you, to your enlightened attention, that American Government must look for the

sources of its power. You dare not, if I may say so, withhold your attention.

Such words are stirring to a young man, and the thoughts behind them did, in fact, move Governor Stevenson. Even as he counseled to look ahead, he, too, was looking ahead, it would now seem, when he said 11 years ago:

There is in the molting masses of Asia a tremendous power, potentially the greatest power on earth, and today our enemies conspire to gain the mastery of this power. They have at their disposal, as we all know, a powerful weapon, for communism is a perversion of the dream of justice. And while we see its leading attributes as the perversion, the illiterate, the tolling masses still have their eyes fixed on the dream.

We too have a powerful weapon, truth, and we gain our strength from our thoughtful citizenry, which seeks and holds the truth with both its heart and its mind. The question is, however, whether we have come to decisive responsibility too early, before we were ready, before we had matured sufficiently. No man can say with certainty. Personally, I am optimistic and confident, but this question will not be answered tomorrow; it will be answered in your lifetime, and it will be answered in large part by you.

He presented an insight into the hearts of those who make the decision to seek public office when he said:

It becomes increasingly hard to attract good men to government, and no wonder. Thoughtful men do not enjoy living in an atmosphere of constant guerrilla warfare and suspicion.

I would suggest to you, then, that it is the duty of an educated man in America today to work actively to put good men into public office, and to defend them there against abuse and the ugly inclination we as human beings have to believe the worse. I would suggest that it is not enough merely to vote but that we, all of us, have the further obligation to think, and to maintain steadfastly the rights of all men to think freely.

Adlai Stevenson did not win his Nation's highest office, although he sought it twice. He did not live to complete the fight for freedom which he helped wage in the far corners of the earth. He did not finally have that opportunity to "sit in the afternoon sun and watch the people dance." And yet out of these disappointments, he emerged a winner, and we all share in his successes and his contributions.

Adlai Stevenson will be remembered for the career he chose, for the things that he did, for the wisdom which he imparted, for the humor which characterized his speeches, for the optimism which he carried with him constantly, for the deep faith he held in the cause of freedom. He was a man who made his fellow citizens of Illinois, America, and the world proud to claim him as one of their own.

Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the RECORD the address given by Adlai E. Stevenson to the senior class banquet at Princeton University on March 22, 1954:

AN ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ADLAI E. STEVENSON, 1922, TO THE PRINCETON CLASS OF 1954, MARCH 22, 1954, UPON THE OCCASION OF THE SENIOR CLASS BANQUET

I have a number of preliminary things I should like to say. In the first place, I am informed that this senior class banquet is being held at the expense of your accumu-